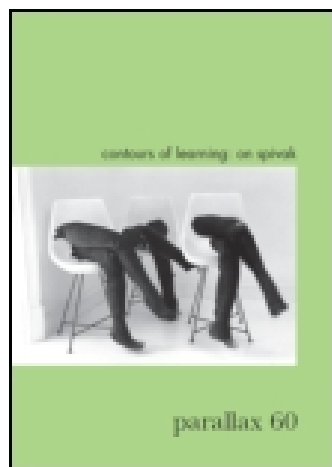


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Publisher: Routledge

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## Parallax

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/tpar20>

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Joan Raphael-Leff

Published online: 22 May 2007.

To cite this article: Joan Raphael-Leff (2007) Freud's 'Dark Continent', Parallax, 13:2, 41-55, DOI: [10.1080/13534640701267164](https://doi.org/10.1080/13534640701267164)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13534640701267164>

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## Freud's 'Dark Continent'

Joan Raphael-Leff

Freud, a self-described 'conquistador', discovered the workings of that great 'dark continent' the unconscious mind. Using Reason and Science to shed light on the 'terra incognita' within us, he provided not only a map and topographical representation but an ingenious system for its exploration. However, paradoxically, Freud the inventor of psychoanalysis was the only one to be deprived of that collaborative experience. He had no guide on his expedition into the unknown. Although for a while he granted a privileged friend the status of travel companion, Freud could not ultimately surrender his control over the transformative process.

I argue that heroic though it was, Freud's self-analysis could not penetrate the primordial swamps to the 'heart of darkness' – the earliest mother-infant experience. He lacked the live intersubjective to and fro of transference/countertransference reciprocity that facilitates somatic arousal and regressive enactment of pre-symbolic feelings, in his solipsistic journey of exploration. Freud failed to emotionally work-through some fundamental states of mind and procedural memories revived from the thickets of an unrecalled 'prehistoric' past.

Sphinx-like, Woman thus remains for him a 'dark region' associated with enigmatic and dangerous powers – an uncharted feminine terrain, theoretically 'unsatisfying, shadowy and incomplete.' Likewise, despite devoting his professional life to studying the psychic vicissitudes of female sexuality, this too remains 'veiled in an impenetrable obscurity'<sup>1</sup> and thirty years into his clinical practice he notes: '[...] after all, the sexual life of adult women is a 'dark continent' for psychology'.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, it is only after the death of his own ninety-five year old mother, that the archaic mother of infancy is 'discovered'. Until then she is omitted from his theoretical conceptualization which hinges on the 'Oedipal' child's sexual renunciation. But even with her discovery, certain numinous qualities remain obscured. Freud never interrogates inter-relational dynamics, and although he ascribes libidinous feelings to infancy, he fails to explore the other arm of the equation, 'pre-oedipal' Jocasta's preemptive cruelty towards her infant or her own capacity for erotic desire.

Finally, given the dictum of 'prehistory' as formative, and the fact that the only childhood dream Freud acknowledges as his own has visual imagery drawn from Isis/Osiris/Horus mythology, the exclusivity of the Oedipal legend is perplexing, as is a dearth of references to this rich prehistoric Egyptian source. A similar paradox lies in

the disparity between his sensual enjoyment of his vast collection of Egyptian antiquities and yet lack of conceptual elaboration in his theorizing.

In this paper I will put forward the proposition that these and other paradoxes may resonate with traumatic and unprocessed passions of Freud's own personal 'prehistory' – his earliest years, before the family exodus from the town of his birth when he was three years old. Not wanting to engage in speculative hagiography, I shall merely cite glimpses of Freud's own associations to the 'dark continent' (untamed Africa, enigmatic females, archaic prehistory of maternity and infancy) which appear in oblique autobiographical references, letters to intimates and periodic symptomatic enactments throughout his life. Finally, in his penultimate work *Moses and Monotheism* (1939) published six months before his death, Freud overtly designates Egypt as the seedbed of civilization (and Judaism), and Moses himself an Egyptian. I have argued this uncharacteristically rambling, repetitive and troubled text, which he said pursued him 'like an unladen ghost'<sup>3</sup> suggests a compelling need to revisit unresolved 'prehistoric' issues before his death.<sup>4</sup> A 'dark continent' which remained enigmatic.

### Egypt as Prehistory

Freud claimed to have read more archaeology than psychoanalysis (letter to Stefan Zweig, 7 February 1931).<sup>5</sup> He remarked to his physician that his 'partiality for the prehistoric' was 'an addiction second in intensity only to his nicotine addiction.'<sup>6</sup> Paradoxically, although this passion dates back to childhood, his first antiquity was only acquired in December 1896, shortly after beginning his self-analysis following the death of his father. Years later Freud told Ferenczi that they evoked 'strange, secret yearnings perhaps from my ancestral heritage – for the East and the Mediterranean and for a life of quite another kind: wishes from late childhood never to be fulfilled and not adapted to reality.' (Letter to Ferenczi, 30 March 1922)

Rapidly, his otherwise neat consulting room became peopled with ancient statuettes, at least 600 of which were from Egypt<sup>7</sup> – crammed onto shelves, table surfaces and floor, some perched on his writing desk to be gazed at and stroked, and according to his biographer, a chosen few even accompanied him to the dinner table.<sup>8</sup> As noted, paradoxically, there are very few allusions to Egypt in his writings. When it is mentioned, Freud treats it allegorically – to represent unconscious primary process contradictions (antithetical meanings of primal words as revealed in visual imagery of hieroglyphics, to illustrate coalescence of contraries, condensations, indefiniteness and ambiguity due to translation of dream thoughts and reverie into a primitive mode of expression<sup>9</sup> and the ancient symbolism of early infancy [e.g. archaic mother as androgynous 'vulture' associated with Isis/Hathor].<sup>10</sup> How do we explain the compulsive sensual gratification of his fascination with ancient Egypt juxtaposed with conceptual avoidance of Egyptian culture and its complex mythology?

My thesis is that for Freud Egypt plays an ambiguous and complex role as (unconscious) representation of the 'dark continent' – a repudiated realm of the uncanny archaic mother/primordial 'eternal feminine'. I suggest that his periodic preoccupation with ancient Egypt constitutes a particular form of unconscious

repetition, which he called ‘return of the repressed’, and today we would link with revival of a filigree of implicit configurations, or dissociated memories. Association with traumatic events relating to his own earliest years induced avoidance of the Isis/Osiris/Horus myth with its evocative reminders of generational confusions, incestuous passions, fragmentation and fratricidal violence. This terrifying narrative, rooted not in the *phallic* supremacy Freud chose to privilege, but in maternal magic and integration of feminine powers of intuition as aspects of the masculine self.

### The Egyptian Myth of Isis, Osiris, Horus and Seth

At his birth in Thebes of Upper Egypt, like all heroes, the future greatness of Osiris was prophesied by a proclamation. On inheriting the throne he took his sister Isis to be his queen.<sup>11</sup> Plutarch stated that: ‘Isis and Osiris were in love with each other even before they were born and had intercourse in the darkness of the womb.’<sup>12</sup> The new sovereign devoted himself to improving the condition of his subjects, weaning them from their ‘cruel and barbarous customs.’<sup>13</sup> He abolished cannibalism, introduced agriculture, and (like Moses) formulated a code of laws and instituted the first religious ceremonies. Having civilized Egypt he set forth through Africa and the coast of Arabia to India, spreading civilization over the ‘whole world’ with his pacifist decrees of non-violence. In his absence, Isis, his female counterpart governed ‘with great wisdom and prudence’ despite the spoiling intentions of their envious brother Seth, who was identified with the desert, barrenness and darkness, and came to be known as the God of Evil.<sup>14</sup> Isis furthered the process of socialization. She instituted marriage and instructed women in the arts of transformation – corn grinding and bread making, spinning flax and weaving. A skilled physician herself, she taught the arts of healing disease and divination, appearing in the dreams of all who sought help.<sup>15</sup>

### Murderous Sibling Rivalry

When Osiris returned home from his travels he became the victim of a plot hatched by jealous Seth who planned to seize the kingdom and take possession of Isis, with whom he was ‘violently in love’. Plutarch relates how with 72 accomplices, Seth tricked Osiris into a richly ornamented carved casket, fastened it with nails, poured molten lead over the cracks and dragging the chest to the Nile, cast it into the river.<sup>16</sup> Seth now seized royal power. The bereaved Isis cut her hair, tore her robes in mourning and set out in search of the casket to reclaim her husband’s body and bury it as prescribed. After much travelling, she discovered the chest up the Phoenician coast on the shore of Byblos and transported it back to Egypt, where Isis hid the corpse of Osiris in the Delta swamps of Butto.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, the wicked Seth discovered the body. Here details differ, but all sources agree that Seth tore up the body into (at least) fourteen pieces which he scattered throughout the country. Sailing down the Nile in a papyrus boat, Isis searched for the dismembered pieces, only thirteen of which she recovered. The phallus had been devoured. Isis had an abstract figure made of the severed phallus which was used in commemorative festivals.

Another version tells how Isis reconstituted the body by cunningly joining its fragments together with wax and spices and embalming Osiris (thereby making the

first mummy), and restored him to eternal life in the Underworld where he resides in a state of unconsciousness. The Underworld (which we may liken to the Freudian Unconscious) is the place of formation of 'the living out of the dead and the past, the true meeting place of time before and after.'<sup>18</sup> As such it is the source of new life and recreation but also the home of demon forces of unregulated power and annihilation.

Horus was conceived posthumously by magical means.<sup>19</sup> Hidden in the Delta marshes he was brought up lovingly by Isis and her sister Nephthys. Isis, personification of 'the great feminine creative power'<sup>20</sup> concealed her 'golden child' as she called him (fragment from the 'Delta Cycle').<sup>21</sup> He became her consort, but their exclusive intimacy was disrupted, as despite their secrecy Seth (now described as both his/her brother) discovered the hiding place and pursued Horus with murderous intent, dangerous rivalry and seduction from which the child escaped only through his mother's vigilance and sorcery. Isis, regarded as a great magician, possessed knowledge of the secret names of the gods and spirits good and bad, so that when falcon-headed Horus was stung to death by brother Seth in the form of a scorpion, Isis could revive him from the dead with her spells.

### The Contendings

A psychoanalytic interpretation of these events may trace the infant Horus' developmental progress from conception, gestation and early symbiosis, through the anxieties and confusions of separation, fraternal rivalry and mastery of fantasized omnipotence under the guidance of protective and powerful co-mothers. Some of the mystifications may be attributed to pre-symbolic primary process representations. So they lived together while he matured. Shades of Hamlet, Horus was said to be visited by his dead father, Osiris, who instructed him to do his duty to avenge him and reclaim his inheritance from the usurping Seth. The latter, lusting after Isis, had accused her of adultery and declared his nephew illegitimate (Metternich Stele). An awesome contest now ensued ranked in ancient Egypt with occurrences of 'primeval and cosmic import', recorded in bas-reliefs (such as those at the temple at Edfu), and later reported by classical Greek and early Christian writers as the 'Contendings of Horus and Seth'. Referred to by ancient Pyramid texts as '*the time of the confusion*', this period is one in which gender and generational boundaries are violated, primitive passions rage and infantile theories of conception and rebirth abound. The adversaries, often described as brothers, are depicted by all sources as relating highly emotionally towards each other, whether as enemies, rivals, fraternal-equals, homosexual adversaries or as collaborators in ceremonies of purification and coronation of the Pharaoh. In some Pyramidal texts the violent battle of Horus and Seth symbolizes the primeval conflict between the forces of darkness and light but there are many interpretations.<sup>22</sup> Whenever it took place, the brutal feud raged on until Horus vanquished Seth. During this fateful combat, both were mutilated: dark, savage Seth was *castrated* and consigned to limbo and Horus lost *an eye*, his 'moon-eye' of feminine creativity. The severed testicles are represented by sceptres in the Ramesseum dramatic papyrus, thus a symbol of power; the eye signifies both power and grace (see also Pyramidal Text 418a; 679d).

## The Trial: Father-son Reunion and Restoration of the Eye

Having triumphed in this Love/Hate fraternal/avuncular conflict without his mother's aid, 'oedipal' Horus must now face his own internal (unconscious) world: a tribunal was set up to terminate the over-determined dispute which clearly symbolizes an eternal battle between the forces of good and evil, life and death, reason and passion. The trial is presided over by a Judge and the 'Two Truths', representing the civilizing precepts of Law and Order. The litigation dealt with two unresolved issues: the murder of Osiris by Seth and the libel of Horus' illegitimacy. After the painful (psychic) journey into the Underworld of the Unconscious, Horus roused his father into a state of sentient consciousness and reconstituting the dismembered body of emasculated Osiris, made it whole. The avenged and resurrected Osiris is hailed as Judge of the Underworld and on regaining the regenerative power of his special eye, Horus himself achieves a reconciliation of opposites, including *psychic bisexuality*.<sup>23</sup>

Ending on a note of regenerative recovery of consciousness, this myth contrasts with the Greek narrative (Sophocles, 429-420 BCE) of Oedipus permanently blinded. Murdered Laius and dead Jocasta remain unresurrected and Oedipus' daughter carries the burden of her ageing father (in old age, Freud referred to his daughter Anna, as his own Antigone).<sup>24</sup> The Freudian Oedipus Complex is resolved dichotomously, by delineation of the sexes into male possessor of the phallus and feminine-castrated (despite Freud's attraction to the notion of 'psychic bisexuality' proposed by his one-time friend Fliess). Ignoring Jocasta's death-dealing powers over her baby son Oedipus, Freud chooses the Greek myth over the Egyptian, discarding the uncanny 'pre-oedipal' mother.

### Freud's Prehistory

Like Horus to Osiris, Freud's psychic journey to the unconscious 'underworld' of self-analysis began with feeling 'torn up by the roots' after his father's death in October 1896. During the course of this extraordinary mid-life crisis exploration from age forty to fifty, Freud, father to six young children, discovered memories of multiple losses and early traumata in his own childhood. Some of these events were confirmed by his mother, with crucial variations. They are mainly documented in his 1887–1904 letters to 'the only other', his 'esteemed friend' Wilhelm Fliess.<sup>25</sup>

Profound psychic change involves both '*insight*' [interpretation and transcription of unarticulated images into reflective symbolized knowledge – 'making the unconscious conscious'] which, incredibly, Freud managed to achieve; and emotional '*working through*' – removing affective barriers, and enactively reworking old relational procedures by regressively experiencing and processing implicit memories-in-feeling within the ongoing daily psychoanalytic relationship which he did not experience. This emotional reworking of unconscious pre-symbolic memories and non-declarative motivations and meanings can only occur as part of an emotional collaborative 'co-construction' within the intersubjective counter/transference dialogic experience of psychoanalysis itself.<sup>26</sup> Fliess served as a catalyst and pseudo-transference object. Later

he was replaced by Freud's sister-in-law Minna, his children's co-mother, as confidante.<sup>27</sup> However, few of Freud's infantile revelations could be worked through emotionally, as there were limitations to the process. Freud himself declared frustratedly: '*True self-analysis is impossible.*'<sup>28</sup>

Sigismund (as he was named until he changed it at nineteen [*Sieg*=victory, *mund*=protection]) was born with a caul, 'an event which was believed to ensure him future happiness and fame' as was a childhood prophecy of his greatness.<sup>29</sup> His twenty-one year old mother, Amalie, named her black haired first born 'little moor' although thereafter she referred to him as 'mein goldener Sigi'. He was born 151 years ago, on 6 May 1856 in part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, between the kingdom of Prussia and the province of Galicia. Most of Freiberg's 5000 inhabitants, including his nanny, were Czech-speaking Catholics, while the Freud family belonged to a tiny Jewish minority. Freud's Hebrew name, Shlomo (Solomon) was in memory of the paternal grandfather who died in February, months before the baby's birth. Jakob, the father, was forty years old at the time of his bereavement, the age Freud himself was to be when his own father died. The immediate family shared a single room, and living nearby were two sons by Jakob's previous marriage – Emmanuel, aged twenty-three, with his wife, baby son John (and later two daughters), and Philipp, aged twenty-one. Thus there was some generational confusion as Freud's father was a grandfather, his mother was of an age with her step-sons and Sigismund was born already an uncle to his year-older nephew, John, with whom he shared early sensual experiences, playing in 'beautiful woods' and sun drenched meadows, picking strawberries and dandelions, eating black bread and together 'deflowering' his niece of her bunch of wild flowers.

When he was six or seven months old Amalie became pregnant again, and gave birth in October 1857 to another boy, called Julius after her brother who died of tuberculosis six months earlier. As Freud was to point out: 'In cases in which the two children are so close in age that lactation is prejudiced by the second pregnancy, [this] reproach acquires a real basis':

[...] when the next child appears in the nursery[...] it is a remarkable fact that a child, even with an age difference of only eleven months, is not too young to take notice of what is happening. But what the child begrudges the unwanted intruder and rival is not only the suckling but all the other signs of maternal care. It feels that it has been dethroned, despoiled, prejudiced in its rights; it casts a jealous hatred upon the new baby and develops a grievance against the faithless mother[...] But we rarely form a correct perception of the strength of these jealous impulses, of the tenacity with which they persist and of the magnitude of their influence on later development.<sup>30</sup>

Thus, Sigismund, too, no doubt felt 'dethroned, despoiled, [and] prejudiced', casting 'jealous hatred upon the new baby' and experiencing 'a grievance against the faithless mother', adding in adulthood: '*nor does it make much difference if the child happens to remain the mother's preferred favourite. A child's demands for love are immoderate, they make exclusive claims and tolerate no sharing.*' Little Freud might have imagined that if mother's brother Julius could die and be gone forever, so could his own brother Julius. On 15 April 1858 this wishful

idea became a terrible reality. The baby died at six months of gastroenteritis in the family's single room. (Family legend had it that Julius died when his first teeth came through – we may only guess what fantasies must have abounded.<sup>31</sup>) Sigismund was twenty-two months old at the time. During his self-analysis he recovered the guilt his brother's death left in him: *'I greeted my one-year-younger brother (who died after a few months) with adverse wishes and genuine childhood jealousy[...] his death left a germ of [self-]reproaches in me'* he wrote just forty years later to his intimate friend Fliess, his brother's exact contemporary in age.<sup>32</sup> Indeed, I make the assertion that the death of this baby was probably *the most significant emotional event* in Freud's entire life and remained encapsulated as an unprocessed wordless area of prehistoric deathly rivalry and identification, later enacted with 'revenants'.

Usually, birth of a younger sibling leads to playful alliances. However, I argue that in Freud's case, the *actual* death of his rival brother at a time when magical thinking and superstition was still rife, reinforced the traumatized toddler's belief in the power of wishful fantasy. And, moreover, as he observed his parents' helpless inability to combat death, he experienced all the attendant anxieties of young siblings encountering perinatal morbidity who fear for their own lives.<sup>33</sup>

Recent neonatal research demonstrates that many relational procedures and unremembered reactions which develop in infancy and early childhood survive, remaining embedded in emotional functioning across the life-span.<sup>34</sup> Because early internalization occurs at a pre-symbolic level the primary form of representation in infancy is not semantically coded but is one of 'non-declarative' 'enactive' relational procedures and representations.<sup>35</sup> Thus, Freud's unresolved 'fixation' continued to manifest throughout his life both positively in repetitious attempts at reparation and negatively as symptoms, inhibitions and phobias: in his recurrent sense of isolation and conviction that his own days were numbered, re-emerging at times of fraternal-conflict with 'revenants' of this original brother, even half a century later, in 'enactive' episodes of fainting, attributed by Freud himself to Julius' death.<sup>36</sup> Survivor guilt may also be manifest in repeated exacerbation of symptoms in mid-April as I have noted<sup>37</sup> and in experiences of intellectual paralysis, the latter (according to Anzieu) preceding all major discoveries.<sup>38</sup> Despite ceaseless striving after representation of the implicit and repressed, he was unable to reach the furthest strata of his own traumatic early experience which included memories in feeling of both his powerful archaic mother and infantile 'fratricide'. These could only emerge in a *compulsion to repeat* what could not be remembered.

Little Sigismund appears to have been left to face traumatic dis-illusionment regarding parental protection after the irreparable life-event of his infant brother's death. His mother immediately closed the gap of her double bereavement, conceiving a 'replacement baby'. Freud's sister Anna was born just nine months later (31 December 1858), when he was two. Clinical experience reveals transgenerational complexities of juxtaposed childbearing and curtailed bereavement, and their detrimental effect on offspring.<sup>39</sup> I believe that like many toddlers, Sigismund was pierced to the quick by his 'beloved' mother's betrayal of their exclusive bond when she introduced a new baby into their intimacy. She then further failed him by seemingly being unable to protect baby Julius from his own death-wishes, from imagined paternal 'murderousness' and



her own destructive/careless powers. Furthermore, the precocious child was unable to gain reassurance when she became engaged in the next pregnancy and baby.

Like falcon-headed Horus, Freud had only a brief period of intimacy with his mother, before having to deal with a rival. However, the *real* death of Julius reinforced the young child's belief in, and terror of, the omnipotent powers of his own destructive fantasy. His father (like Osiris) was largely absent. Jakob, a travelling merchant, was away from home a great deal. And, in that same amazing letter to Fliess in October 1897 almost a year after his father's death, the middle-aged Freud suddenly recalled a co-mother. A 'prehistoric old nurse' as he later called her,<sup>40</sup> his 'prime originator', an ugly, elderly but clever woman. The following day he added to the unposted letter that his dream of the night had '*under the strangest disguises produced the following: that she was my teacher in sexual matters and complained because I was clumsy and unable to do anything [...] Moreover, she washed me in reddish water in which she had previously washed herself [...] And she made me steal zehners [coins] to give them to her.*'<sup>41</sup> In his next letter twelve days later, Freud reported to Fliess that upon asking his elderly mother about this nurse, Amalie confirmed his early memories but corrected him on one point. It was the nanny who stole, and during the mother's confinement with Anna, 'brother Philipp himself fetched the policeman; she then was given ten months in prison.'<sup>42</sup>

In other words, with the birth of Anna, not only was the troubled child deprived of his mother now occupied with the new baby, but he lost his nurse as well, incarcerated in prison partially as a result of his self-perceived 'naughtiness'. His mother's final betrayal of forgoing parthenogenesis for 'adultery', having yet another baby without his help, raising doubts about his own legitimacy and, on top of it all, preventing Sigismund finding solace in his nurse, appears to have resulted in the two year-old boy's early 'disidentification' from all things feminine, and his premature overvaluation of intellect and of 'self-sufficiency'. This contributed to the adult Freud's determined secondary ignorance and bland denial of the importance of the archaic mother. Indeed, it is quite remarkable that it is only after her death in September 1930 that the discovery of the pre-oedipal phase came to the seventy-four year old Freud 'as a surprise, like the discovery [...] of the Minoan-Mycenean civilization behind the civilization of Greece.'<sup>43</sup> He added: '*Everything in the sphere of this first attachment to the mother seemed to me so difficult to grasp in analysis – so grey with age and shadowy and almost impossible to revivify – that it was as if it had succumbed to an especially inexorable repression.*' Freud attributed this belatedness to his female patients clinging defensively to their father attachment to him. I would suggest it related equally to his own conscious reluctance to offer himself as 'a suitable mother-substitute'. As he confessed to his patient Hilda Doolittle: 'I do not like to be the mother in the transference,' this despite his own remarkable receptive capacities, which remained rooted in repudiated unconscious identification with his mother.<sup>44</sup>

Several further items emerged from his self-analysis recounted in that same amazing letter of 15 October 1897.

(a) Freud now realized the source and meaning of an unintelligible scene which for twenty-five years had 'emerged' inexplicably in his conscious memory. In it his 'mother was nowhere to be found'; he 'was crying in despair'. At his request brother Philipp

unlocked a chest but upon not finding mother inside he ‘cried even more until, slender and beautiful, she came in through the door.’ In his current self-scrutiny, analysis of the scene from his third year revealed to Freud that when he had missed his mother he was ‘afraid she had vanished’ from him ‘just as the old woman had a short time before,’ and having heard that the bad nurse was locked up, or ‘boxed’ up, Freud had sought both nurse and mother in the locked chest. We may assume that the relief at seeing his mother ‘slender and beautiful’ may relate to her not being pregnant again. Years later referring to the same incident in a chapter on ‘Childhood and Screen Memories’, the elderly Freud added this footnote to the tenth edition, in 1924 (when his mother was ninety years old): *‘The child of not yet three had understood that the little sister who had recently arrived had grown inside his mother. He was very far from approving of this addition to the family, and was full of mistrust and anxiety that his mother’s inside might conceal still more children. The wardrobe or cupboard [retranslates from the German as ‘box’ or ‘chest’] was a symbol of his mother’s inside. So he insisted on looking into this cupboard, and turned for this to his big brother who [...] had taken his father’s place as the child’s rival. Besides the well-founded suspicion that this brother had had the lost nurse “boxed up”, there was a further suspicion against him – namely that he had in some way introduced the recently born baby into his mother’s inside.’*<sup>45</sup>

Thus, as early as his third year we find that Freud had written off his father as a potent source of his mother’s babies, installing brother Philipp instead, as progenitor and rival. (That this idea persisted unconsciously even long after Philipp went to live in England, seems subtly hinted by the name chosen by ten year-old Freud for his new brother – Alexander, son of Philip of Macedonia.)

(b) This disclosure ripened the second fruit of his self-analysis in that same mid-October letter when he was forty-one – the discovery of the ‘*Oedipus complex*’. ‘I have found, in my own case too [the phenomenon of] being in love with my mother and jealous of my father [...]’ concluding with the thought that Hamlet’s irresolution in avenging his father’s murder by his brother was due to ‘the torment he suffers from the obscure memory that he himself had contemplated the same deed against his father out of passion for his mother.’<sup>46</sup> ‘His conscience is his unconscious sense of guilt’ – but here too, the allusion is not to an Oedipal *triangle* but to a *quadrangle* of dead father and ‘uncle’. As with Horus, in addition to the murder of Osiris, we glimpse Philipp/Seth as competition to father/Osiris, as rival for his mother’s affections.

It is my belief that the guilt-ridden child Freud, unable to mourn either his dead brother or inexplicably lost nurse, attempted to console himself for his mother’s triple treachery (Julius, Philipp and Anna) by bringing into effect a defensive split which had far reaching implications for his theoretical focus. Despite the birth of five more siblings in rapid succession at the rate of one a year, he denied maternal sexuality. Idealizing his mother, he transferred his enraged sense of betrayal and defeat on to the sexually arousing yet shaming, abandoning old nurse, who got ‘boxed up’ for stealing from him. He then projected the maternal power onto his mild father, ‘overvaluing’ the father and leaving the mother mysterious but powerless. Divested of her sexual desires, she retains her ‘slender beauty’ but is denuded of her awesome creativity and her death-dealing destructive powers. To his dying day, Freud’s pure Jocasta retains her innocence of both infanticide and incestuous collusion: she is portrayed as the unwitting target of her son’s lust.

Each according to their own slant, biographers tend to have their own theories as to why the Freud family split up and left Freiberg in 1859 during Sigismund's third year.<sup>47</sup> Their reasons range from war to anti-Semitism through Jakob's incompetence to mechanization of the textile industry. Whatever the causes, Freud called it the 'original catastrophe that involved the whole of [his] existence.'<sup>48</sup> His older brothers and their families departed for Manchester while the rest left for Leipzig, and then Vienna. According to Freud himself, residues of this anxious journey underpinned his life long travel phobia. The move to the big city changed the family structure dramatically. Jakob, the absent yet powerful Patriarch of Freud's early childhood was reduced to financial insecurity and greater dependency. With the exodus, the competing 'band of brothers' was effectively removed: Julius, Philipp, Emmanuel, and his nephew John 'earliest friend and opponent' and 'companion in crime',<sup>49</sup> leaving 'Sigi' as his parents' only son. However, the guilt of having 'stolen' this position of his mother's 'undisputed darling' lay heavily. Amalie did not stop there. One year, four more girl-babies were born in Vienna – followed by another son, Alexander, on 19 April 1866, shortly after the death of Amalie's own father and eight years almost to the day since the death of her infant son Julius. It was also around this time that another 'boxing up' occurred. Jakob's brother Josef was jailed for fraud. At this crucial point Sigismund dreamt the 'Egyptian' dream:

### Freud's Childhood Anxiety Dream

*'It was a very vivid one, and in it I saw my beloved mother, with a peculiarly peaceful, sleeping expression on her features, being carried into the room by two (or three) people with birds' beaks and laid upon the bed. I awoke in tears and screaming, and interrupted my parents' sleep. The strangely draped and unnaturally tall figures with birds' beaks were derived from the illustrations to Philippon's Bible. I fancy they must have been gods with falcons' heads from the ancient Egyptian funerary relief.'*

In adulthood, Freud associates 'bird' (Vogel) to a 'vulgar term' for sexual intercourse taught to him by Philipp, son of the concierge (but no associations given to his brother!), attributing the mother's expression to his grandfather's (seen in a coma before his death) Freud ascribes his anxiety to her dying but adds the idea of a repressed 'obscure and evidently sexual craving that had found appropriate expression in the visual content of the dream.'<sup>50</sup> Paradoxically, despite 'penetrating' the 'dark continent' in this dream, its message is repudiated and, in Freud's future theoretical works, the mother continues to be deemed asexual and woman's sexual desire remains an enigmatic secret.

Thus, I propose that behind Freud's neat Oedipal triangle of inhibited parricide lies a savage **quadrangle** of sibling rivalry and triumphant fratricide. This is the avoided subject of the Egyptian Isis/Osiris/Horus/Seth mythology (although Freud possessed both volumes of Wallis-Budge and many others beside). In childhood, Egyptian imagery surfaces when again faced with maternal bereavement and another potentially greedy brother (Julius/Seth). Once again overcome by guilt and anxiety he fears revenge of the luscious dark powerful mother of predynastic Egypt, aware of his own

precarious position now that he is no longer his mother's sole surviving son, her 'golden' 'undisputed darling' and privileged unrivalled consort. He needs the protection of an all-powerful father/superego to tame his own murderous forces (the internal Id/Seth, 'personification of blind force and unregulated violence,' which Egyptologists note, can never be annihilated: 'a power that can be restrained or canalized, but not absolutely destroyed.')

<sup>51</sup>

## Egypt Revisited

This omnipotently protective father-God is the subject of his penultimate work. At the end of his life Freud revisited his lifelong preoccupation with Egypt. The rapid rise of anti-Semitism in Austria was one provocation to his exploring both his own Jewishness and the sources of Judaism in *Moses and Monotheism*.<sup>52</sup> I suggest that another impetus was the proximity of his own death. As in all nodal points of his life – Death is a catalyst. His infantile struggle began with the death of his brother, his dream followed his grandfather's death, his self-analysis began with his father's death, and discovery of the 'Death Instinct' after the deaths of his daughter Sophie and favourite grandson. So at the end of his life, having passed the age of his father's demise which he had long treated with prophetic gloom as his own, terminally ill and facing exile, Freud had a further opportunity to rework his pre-oedipal guilt and find potential regeneration in a psychic return to the maternal casket/womb/tomb (ancient burials occurred in the foetal position).

Joining a long line of scholars from the third century BCE onwards, who explored Egypt as the origin of civilization, in *Moses and Monotheism* he chose to ignore the 'project of Enlightenment' that since the seventeenth century had treated Egyptian religion as a counterpoint to the Biblical story ('Egypt comes to symbolize what is rejected, discarded, and abandoned.')

<sup>53</sup> Freud defiantly turned this on its head, claiming Egypt as the *source* of monotheism, and Moses as an Egyptian.<sup>54</sup> He declared that the 'momentous step' of the invisible monotheistic God represents preference for 'thought processes' over 'sense perception', of abstraction – spirit, soul, mental power – in a 'victory of intellectuality over sensuality,'<sup>55</sup> *a triumph of 'paternity over maternity'* as he put it – the father's leap of faith in legitimizing the baby as his own by contrast to the mother's direct knowledge of her cord-tied offspring. Freud now traced the core of religion back to a powerful longing for a paternal authority figure 'felt by everyone from his childhood onwards'<sup>56</sup> and wish to gain confidence from being chosen by an all-powerful father. In passing, Freud noted residues of the even earlier repressed prehistoric matriarchal social order that lay behind the patriarchal one, in which one son is spared expulsion, *chosen to reign alongside the great mother-goddess*. The Isis/Osiris/Horus/Seth panoply is intimated in his allusion. This myth is the suppressed evidence repudiated by the Bible, and then by Freud. Horus-the-son is now chosen by an Oedipal God-father who instigated renunciation of incestuous passion by inscribing patriarchal monotheism on body (circumcision) and mind through symbolic castration. Freud installs paternal protection against the luscious dark pre-oedipal mother, obliterating her powers with his phallocentric theory. The prehistoric era of maternal intimacy and danger remains unprocessed, necessitating dis-identification with his own feminine capacities, and installing compensatory defences.

Like Horus, Freud explored the internal ‘underworld’ of the unconscious, and throughout his ongoing self-analysis engaged with an eternal battle between the forces of good and evil, life and death, Reason and Passion. Like Horus he resurrected the absent father reinstating Paternal Law in the underworld as Superego. However, unlike Horus, Freud could not extend the regenerative power of his special ‘feminine’ eye to illuminate the ‘dark continent’ of the uncanny archaic mother. Unresolved unconscious guilt and annihilation anxiety prevented this. Shortly before his death he commented: ‘A sense of guilt also originates from unsatisfied love. Like hate. In fact we have been obliged to derive every conceivable thing from that material [...]’.<sup>57</sup>

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* [1905], in Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. 7, ed. James Strachey, in collaboration with Anna Freud, assisted by Alix Strachey and Alan Tyson (London: The Hogarth Press, 1962) (pp. 123–230), p. 151.

<sup>2</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Inhibitions, Symptoms and Anxiety* [1926], in Standard Edition, vol. 20 (pp. 77–174), p. 212.

<sup>3</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays* [1939], in Standard Edition, vol. 23 (London: The Hogarth Press, 1962), p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Joan Raphael-Leff, “‘Thou owest Nature a death’ – Moses, Monotheism and the “Prehistoric” Matrix’ (forthcoming 2007).

<sup>5</sup> Peter Gay, who in his biography of Freud called this overstatement a ‘genial hyperbole’ nonetheless conceded that ‘the very exaggeration testifies to the privileged place his antiquities held in Freud’s mental economy’. See Peter Gay, *Freud: A Life for Our Time* (New York and London: Norton, 1988), p. 171, and his ‘Introduction’ in *Sigmund Freud and Art: his personal collection of antiquities*, ed. Lynn Gamwell and Richard Wells (London: Thames and Hudson in association with State University of New York and Freud Museum, London, 1989), p. 168.

<sup>6</sup> Max Schur, *Freud: Living and Dying* (New York: International Universities Press, 1972), p. 247.

<sup>7</sup> Freud’s predilection for Egypt is notable in the enormous 1906 print of the colossal figures at Abu Simbel hung in pride of place over the couch. His collection includes many bronze figurines of Isis, Osiris and Horus. One of Isis suckling Horus dates to the Late Period 664–525 BCE. She wears the tripartite vulture headdress surmounted by horned full-moon disk of Hathor), the great moon goddess and nurturing heavenly cow. (This piece was bought by Freud’s Viennese dealer for the price of the metal and according to an entry in Freud’s ‘Shortest Chronical’ was acquired on Friday 2 August 1935, in the midst of writing *Moses and Monotheism*.)

Another statuette depicts Isis with Horus enthroned on her lap; an older Horus-Harpocrates, stands, finger to mouth. Other pieces are a joint stone figure of Amenophis I and his mother, Ahmose-Nofretiti (dating from 1390–1353 BCE). A bronze head of Osiris, dating back somewhere between 1075–716 BCE. Another head, protected by the Horus falcon, probably dating back to Amenophis II (father of Akhnaton) dating back to the eighteenth dynasty. A large limestone stele (inscribed July, 301 BCE) held open Freud’s study door in Vienna. It depicts Ptolemy, general of Alexander the Great who seized control of Egypt when Alexander died in 323 BCE flanked by Horus in two guises. The majority of Freud’s pieces are genuine, and he went to some lengths to have each new acquisition authenticated in the Vienna Kunsthistorisches Museum. However, two probable forgeries are of a falcon-headed figure which stood next to the couch, and a wall-relief reminiscent of the Amarna period between the reigns of Akhnaton and Horemheb. (Serenipitously, during the months I spent in Freud’s house researching this material, the Egyptian items were being catalogued and authenticated by Nicholas Reeves from the Department of Egyptian Antiquities of the British Museum, who kindly shared with me his reflection on the objects and dating process.) Despite the size of his private collection, the expense was relatively low as Freud was a shrewd bargainer and his objects were unfashionable in Vienna, where Baroque and Biedermeier were in vogue. For pictorial representations of some of his objects, information about the origins of his collection and details of an interview with Robert Lustig, one of Freud’s dealers see *Sigmund Freud and Art: his personal collection of antiquities*, ed. Lynn Gamwell and Richard Wells (London: Thames and Hudson in association with State University of New York and Freud Museum, London, 1989).

<sup>8</sup> Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, vol. II (London: Hogarth Press, 1955), p. 393.

<sup>9</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis* [1916-7], in Standard Edition, vol. 15, (pp. 15-496), pp. 229-30.

<sup>10</sup> Sigmund Freud, 'Leonardo da Vinci and a memory of his childhood' [1910], in Standard Edition, vol. 11 (pp. 59-137), pp. 94-5.

<sup>11</sup> Brother-sister marriage was legitimate and prevalent in Egypt, with demographic evidence suggesting that in Roman Egypt many brothers with marriageable sisters married inside the family in preference to exogamy, thus challenging universality of the incest taboo. Keith Hopkins, 'Brother-sister marriage in Roman Egypt', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 22:3 (1980), pp. 303-54.

<sup>12</sup> Quoted by Robert Thomas Rundle Clark in *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1959), p. 344.

<sup>13</sup> Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* (London: Phillip Lee Warner, 1911), p. xviii.

<sup>14</sup> Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Dream divination was common and, according to Herodotus, in Egypt there were 'physicians everywhere' specialists of worldwide repute, including many women doctors and healers, not merely midwives. See Ahmed Okasha 'Mental disorders in Pharaonic Egypt', *Journal of the Egyptian Medical Association*, 61, suppl. *Egypt. J. Psychiat.* 1 (1978), pp. 3-12, and Nabil I. Ebeid, 'Egyptian medicine in the time of the Pharaohs', *J. Milit. Acad. Egypt*, 1 (1986), pp. 19-22.

<sup>16</sup> The murder is said to have taken place on the seventeenth Athyr of the month of Hathor (November) when Osiris was twenty-eight or in the twenty-eighth year of his reign, disclosing the lunar origin of the cult of Osiris in these numerals and other allusions (fourteen section dismemberment; waning moon-Eye broke and reassembled into full 'Wedjat Eye'). Although often also seen as a vegetation myth illustrating the conflict between fertilizing Nile and arid desert, Plutarch regards it as an opposition between Typhon (Seth) representing what is evil, unruly and destructive in Nature and vanquished Osiris as ruler and sovereign of all that is good, the embodiment of intelligence and reason. We note the latter confined to regressive casket/womb-engulfing passivity during the reign of passions.

<sup>17</sup> Isis discovered the chest embedded in a tamarisk tree which had grown at miraculous speed and enclosed it in its trunk. The king of Byblos, marvelling at the size of this tree, had it cut down and fashioned into a pillar for his palace. By means of her alluring fragrance, Isis gained entry to the palace, being appointed nurse to the prince whom she fed by giving him her finger to suck instead of her breast. At night Isis burned away the baby's mortal parts while she soared above the purification flames in the guise of a

swallow. She would have bestowed the gift of immortality on the baby but Queen Astarte, his mother, broke the charm with her cries of terror at seeing her infant in the fire. Revealing her true identity to the queen, Isis was granted permission to remove the casket from the pillar and given a ship to transport her back to Egypt.

<sup>18</sup> Robert Thomas Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, p. 165.

<sup>19</sup> Horus (whose name originates from 'Hor', the Egyptian word for 'sky' and probably means 'he who is on high') is usually depicted as a divine falcon with sun and moon for eyes, or a falcon-headed man, as in Freud's childhood dream, and in the statuette beside his couch. Harpokrates, Horus the child, is represented as a nude toddler on his mother's lap (as in Freud's desk-top statue). In the Pyramid Texts Horus is also referred to as Hareiesis, Horus son of Isis, 'the infant, the young one with his finger in his mouth' (Pyr, 663c-664a, quoted by John Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources. A study on ancient mythology* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1960), p. 15, or 'Horus the Child, the babe, [with] his finger in his mouth', Texts of Teta and Pepi, line 301, quoted by Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, p. 141). The older Horus, referred to as Harpokrates, is depicted with shaven head except for the 'forelock of youth' on his left temple. (In Freud's collection I have noted that two standing figures of the youthful Harpokrates, similarly hold a finger to mouth.)

<sup>20</sup> Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, p. 274.

<sup>21</sup> The fragment is reproduced in Robert Thomas Rundle Clark's *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, p. 190.

<sup>22</sup> There is confusion about identities: sometimes, Horus is Haroeris the 'Elder', brother not nephew of Seth, while other texts clearly name Horus as the son of Osiris and Seth as his mother or father's brother (Pyr. 1219d). However, in non-Osirian references to the conflict the opponents appear as equals and contemporaries. In the framework which sees Horus and Seth as rival brothers, Horus is assigned seniority and presumably wins his case by the superior claim of elder brother. See John Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources. A study on ancient mythology*, pp. 67-8. The legend is possibly a fusion of two myths as there are confused, composite and often contradictory strands dating back to the earliest sources from the fifth and sixth dynasties, 2340-2200 BCE. Historical meanings have also been ascribed to the legend, giving theological sanction to the principle of rightful patrilinear succession in Egyptian kingship, or alluding to resolution of a predynastic political conflict (division and unification of Upper and

Lower Egypt). Other texts lend a cosmological interpretation to the legends. Some descriptions relegate the decisive battle to the three dark days between old and new moon.

<sup>23</sup> If the verdict went against the deceased's heart weighed on the scales of Maat in balance against the feather of Truth and Justice, the wicked man's blood was devoured by the forty-two presiding gods, a relic from pre-Osirian times of cannibalism, when according to local African custom, declaration of innocence was followed by the ordeal of drinking 'red water'. Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, pp. 317–8. What occurred was that insightful Horus came to his father who was in the unconscious state of a dead man, lent his eye to Osiris who ate it, absorbing its vitality and/or embraced him, and by this contact 'he transferred to him either his own KA (double), or a portion of the power which dwelt in it.'

<sup>24</sup> Sophocles, *The Theban Plays. King Oedipus. Oedipus at Colonus. Antigone*. [429–420 BCE], trans. Edward Fairchild Watling [1947] (London: Penguin Books, 1988).

<sup>25</sup> Letter dated 21 May 1894, collected in Sigmund Freud, *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess 1887–1904*, ed. and trans. Jeffrey Moussaieff Masson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), p. 73.

<sup>26</sup> See Robert B. Clyman, 'The procedural organization of emotions: a contribution from Cognitive Science to the psychoanalytic theory of therapeutic action', *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, 39 (1991), pp. 349–82; Peter Fonagy, George S. Moran, Rose Edgumbe, Hansi Kennedy and Mary Target, 'The Roles of Mental Representations and Mental Processes in Therapeutic Action', *The Psychoanalytic Study of the Child*, 48 (1993), pp. 9–48; and Karlen Lyons-Ruth, 'Two-Person Unconscious: Intersubjective Dialogue, Enactive Relational Representation, and the Emergence of New Forms of Relational Organization', *Psychoanalytic Inquiry* 19 (1999), pp. 576–617.

<sup>27</sup> Didier Anzieu, *Freud's Self-Analysis* [1975], trans. Peter Graham (London: Hogarth Press and Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1986), p. 569.

<sup>28</sup> Sigmund Freud in a letter dated 14 November 1897, published in Sigmund Freud, *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess 1887–1904*, p. 281.

<sup>29</sup> Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud* [1953–57], abridged edn, ed. Lionel Trilling and Steven Marcus (New York: Basic Books, 1961), pp. 33–4.

<sup>30</sup> Sigmund Freud, 'New Introductory Lectures On Psycho-Analysis' [1933], in Standard Edition, vol. 22 (1932–1936), p. 123.

<sup>31</sup> Suzanne C. Bernfeld, 'Freud and Archaeology', *American Imago*, 8 (1951) (pp. 107–28), p. 116.

<sup>32</sup> Letter of 3 October 1897, in Sigmund Freud, *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess 1887–1904*, p. 268.

<sup>33</sup> Joan Raphael-Leff, 'Presence of Absence' in *Journey to Motherhood*, ed. Frances Thomson-Salo (Melbourne: Stonnington Press, 2002); and *Psychological Processes of Childbearing* (London: Anna Freud Centre, 2005).

<sup>34</sup> See Robert B. Clyman's 'The procedural organization of emotions: a contribution from Cognitive Science to the psychoanalytic theory of therapeutic action'.

<sup>35</sup> Karlen Lyons-Ruth, 'Two-Person Unconscious: Intersubjective Dialogue, Enactive Relational Representation, and the Emergence of New Forms of Relational Organization'.

<sup>36</sup> Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, abridged edn, pp. 410–1.

<sup>37</sup> Joan Raphael-Leff, 'If Oedipus was an Egyptian', *International Review of Psycho-Analysis*, 17 (1990), pp. 309–35.

<sup>38</sup> Didier Anzieu, *Freud's Self-Analysis*, p. 232.

<sup>39</sup> Joan Raphael-Leff, *Psychological Processes of Childbearing*.

<sup>40</sup> Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams* [1900–1], in Standard Edition, vols 4 and 5, p. 248.

<sup>41</sup> Sigmund Freud in letter of 4 October 1897, in Sigmund Freud, *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess 1887–1904*.

<sup>42</sup> Letter of 15 October 1897, in Sigmund Freud, *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess 1887–1904*.

<sup>43</sup> Sigmund Freud, 'Female Sexuality' [1931], in Standard Edition, vol. 21 (pp. 223–43), p. 226.

<sup>44</sup> H(ilda) D(oolittle), *Tribute to Freud* [1933] (New York: Pantheon, 1956), p. 146.

<sup>45</sup> Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams* [1900–1], in Standard Edition, vols 4 and 5, p. 51. Italics added.

<sup>46</sup> Letter of 15 October 1897, published in Sigmund Freud, *The Complete Letters of Sigmund Freud to Wilhelm Fliess 1887–1904*, pp. 272–3.

<sup>47</sup> For example, Ernest Jones, *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud*, vol. II (London: Hogarth Press, 1955); Didier Anzieu, *Freud's Self-Analysis* [1975], trans. Peter Graham (London: Hogarth Press and Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1986); Marianne Krull, *Freud and his Father* [1979], trans. Arnold J. Pomerans (London: Hutchinson, 1986); Ronald W. Clark, *Freud, the Man and the Cause* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1980); Peter Gay, *Freud: A Life for Our Time* (New York and London: Norton, 1988); and Louis Breger, *Freud – Darkness in the Midst of Vision* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2000).

<sup>48</sup> Sigmund Freud, 'Screen Memories' [1899], in Standard Edition, vol. 3 (pp. 301–22), p. 314.

<sup>49</sup> Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, in Standard Edition, vols 4 and 5, p. 486.

<sup>50</sup> Sigmund Freud, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, in Standard Edition, vols 4 and 5, pp. 583–84.

<sup>51</sup> Robert Thomas Rundle Clark, *Myth and Symbol in Ancient Egypt*, p. 115.

<sup>52</sup> On this point also see Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Freud's Moses: Judaism Terminable and Interminable*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1991); Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* [1995], trans. Eric Prenowitz (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996); and Richard J. Bernstein, *Freud and the Legacy of Moses* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

<sup>53</sup> Jan Assman, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism*, Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1997), pp. 208–09.

<sup>54</sup> Edward Said notes with approval Freud's unusual capacity for non-'Orientalism' in an era of theories of a dominant race, as he subverts the values of European superiority by casting Moses as an Egyptian. See Edward Said, *Freud and the Non-European* (London: Verso, 2003).

<sup>55</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays*, in Standard Edition, vol. 23, p. 114.

<sup>56</sup> Sigmund Freud, *Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays*, in Standard Edition, vol. 23, p. 110.

<sup>57</sup> Sigmund Freud, 'Findings, Ideas, Problems' [1941], in *Moses and Monotheism: Three Essays*, in Standard Edition, vol. 23 (pp. 299–300), p. 299.

**Joan Raphael-Leff** is a practising psychoanalyst, Fellow of the British Psychoanalytical Society and the International Psychoanalytic Association. She is academic Head of the University College London MSc programme in Psychoanalytic Developmental Psychology based at the Anna Freud Centre. Also, Visiting Professor of Psychoanalysis at the Centre for Psychoanalytic Studies, University of Essex, and Extraordinary Professor in the Department of Psychology at Stellenbosch University, South Africa.